1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

583 [177] (Peter Tom) were dashed when, after a period of living with his sweetheart, the girl's father (River Joe) forbade the legalization of the union by the missionary.

The English word "married" is generally reserved by Kaska speakers to designate unions which have been sanctioned by the Roman Catholic missionary. Approximately four out of five families with children have been instituted with religious sanction and the ideal attitudes of the people are strongly in favor of such "church marriages." "Married more better," River Joe explained. "No married, people split all the time that way." Generally by the time religious recognition of a marriage is sought, the couple have already "stayed together" in the girl's family for a year or more. Such staying together, once it has continued for a time, can be said to constitute "Injun married" or "blanket marriage."

From the foregoing it will be clear that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the period of bride service and the inception of a marriage relationship. Often the two gradually merge one into the other and it is mainly by the boy's behavior toward the girl that a state of marriage can be diagnosed. If the boy appears in public with his fiancée, buys grub for her, and if they share their own dwelling, then marriage has occurred. Even these diagnostics may lack clear significance, however, in the case of an unattached older adolescent girl who seeks support for the winter by living with a youth (who purchases a joint winter outfit) but in the summer returns to independent living.

591 [558] Following marriage, the woman gradually becomes known by the man's surname. The husband builds a cabin or tent frame near his wife's parents' dwelling. The form of marriage is always monogamous and has been so during the past forty years.

● 595 One rather exceptional instance of what might be considered as true polyandry was noted. For five years Dorothy Plover had been married to a white man who acknowledged some slight degree of Cree ancestry. He was much older than Dorothy and by him she had borne one child. In Lower Post, while continuing to live with this husband, Dorothy simultaneously began to live with another and also much older white man (her first husband's employer), who allegedly fathered her second child. After some months, Dorothy's first husband, although he continued to refer to the woman as his wife, moved a short distance from the town and Dorothy began openly to live with the putative father of her second baby. This behavior was commented upon rather unfavorably by several Indians, who referred to Dorothy's revival of an "old fashioned way." Dorothy's father, a Tahltan Indian, raised no serious objection to the second union when he visited Lower Post.

586 [177] Non-support, cruelty, and infidelity are the reasons commonly given for divorce in Kaska society. Divorce is simply accomplished by separation, although when a church wedding has occurred this form of divorce is of course not sufficient to bring about legal dissolution of a marriage. Several years ago the remarriage of an improperly divorced man led to his arrest and imprisonment and the incident is still recalled as an illustration of the binding nature of church marriage.[22] Within the society little notice is taken of separation unless it occurs between a couple who have been married for some time and have children. In divorce, children remain with the mother unless they are old enough to prefer the father and able to care for themselves. Statistics on divorce were difficult to obtain. The incidence is undoubtedly high in marriages which do not have a legally binding character but here,

[22] See Old Man's autobiographical sketch below, p. 310.

2: Tolt E-5 (1912-1915) 1917
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times to break it, but could not accomplish it. They practised bathing in cold water to make themselves strong, so that they might break it, but without avail. Among the people who were making endless that they might attain power to break it was an orphan boy who lived with his uncle, who had two wives. His uncle and the younger wife treated him badly. Each succeeding night the boy tried to break the grain, and at last one night he accomplished the feat. He put it together again, and said nothing. Next morning his uncle, accompanied by many men, went to try again, and it broke easily.[1] All were glad, and went back to camp rejoicing. They composed a song on the occasion. They thought they could now conquer the water-man.

Next morning they went in a large canoe to kill the water-man. The boy's uncle stood in the prow of the canoe to do the killing. When they embarked, he had told the boy to go home, as he would be of no use; but the boy went, nevertheless, and sat in the stern of the canoe. His uncle seized the water-man by the hair, and was about to strike at him, when the latter moved his head; and he fell out of the canoe, and was at once killed by the water-man. The boy then arose, and, running forward to the bow of the canoe, seized the water-man's hair and killed him. He struck off his head as easily as cutting fat. The people then returned, singing a song of victory and a death-chant together. The boy's uncle's wives heard the singing, and began to paint themselves, as they thought their husband was the victor. The elder was doubtful as she heard the two kinds of songs; but the younger one kept on painting herself, although the paint constantly covered her face. The boy had made it do this.

When all the people learned of the boy's victory, they made him chief, and he became renowned throughout the country. He took his uncle's elder wife to be his wife, but would have nothing to do with the younger one.[2]

16. THE DEBUTFUL WIFE.

A woman had two husbands[3] who were brothers, and their mother lived with them. She and her mother-in-law shifted camp while her husbands went hunting. When about to make camp, she noticed that she had forgotten her needle-case in the last camp, and she went back for it. On her return she fell in with a war-party of enemy men, who intended to attack her people. They had connection with her until she became quite exhausted. They told her not to tell the people, gave her a lot of pitsenigun, and let her go. She carried the birds to camp and gave them to her mother-in-law. The latter asked her

[1] See Thigh Obsession, 5448 go: 1-11, 1911-2

[2] A Tahltan story, "The Deserted Orphan and the Great Chief," is similar to the end of this story.

[3] Notice the common reference to women with two husbands in Kaska. It appears also in Tahltan myths. This does not occur in any Babine stories that I have collected.

ceremonial way, even if he was very much older than she was. Chiefs or people who were of high rank through wealth always aimed to have their children marry among their own class. Sometimes lads or girls of this class followed their hearts and against their class interests married persons who were poor and of low rank. This, however, was exceptional, as it was not easy to go against the wishes of their parents and relatives, and, as it were, lose their rank. This is how almost all Indian dams as people are about equal to each other nowadays in wealth and the old aristocracy of wealth exists no longer. If a husband intentionally ill-treated his wife her father could take her back by paying him for his loss. This was about equal to or a little over the value of the marriage presents received for his daughter and the gifts the husband after marriage had given to him.

Polygamy was practised but very few men had more than one wife. A few had two. This practice has now died out. No woman had more than one husband.

If a man's wife died her unmarried sister was supposed to become his next wife. If for some reason he did not marry, his children if young were taken by his deceased wife's relatives to be reared by them.

As a nephew succeeded his uncle and inherited his property so also was expected to marry or at least
Copyright has ended's widow.

Upper Level

[illegible] both, and running his hand across her shoulders and body. Lovers did not kiss. Various forms of endearment were current, a youth saying, for example, "You're my girl," to indicate his affection. Sibling terms of opposite sex commonly expressed the idea of "sweetheart" or "lover" but lovers also addressed each other as "brother-in-law" and "sister-in-law." Clandestine sexual contacts between unmarried persons by a boy and a girl never reached a man's sexual organs. Oral contacts with the female genitals rarely took place, people regarding the women's sexual parts as poisonous. A man usually removed trousers but not breech cloth or ascended to sexual attentions. The woman assumed a supine position on her back while the man lay over her, supporting part of his weight on the forearms. For a woman to lay astride a man demanded his burning ability. Women disliked and were penalized unless it was. On the average five minutes elapsed between introduction and ejaculation. The contemplative practice of a woman partially withdrawing at the moment of her partner's orgasm disconcerted the man and interfered with the strength of his climax. Women frequently hit during copulation, particularly at the moment of orgasm. Should a man finish before a woman, she might strike him from behind to force him to remain in her until she reached consummation. She did not generally wait for the partner to finish but her proceeded with strokes of a pace to suit themselves. On hygienic measures followed the sex act. To ensure the her lovers a man gave gifts to a person other than a wife, presents that were received by a companion who desired to show her affection. When they were presented to a married man such gifts often caused great embarrassment as the wife questioned their origin.

Many women in refusing sex relations apparently unbeknown their overtures saying that they wanted to have gone successfully. Sometimes a married woman tried to reduce the frequency of coitus in order to avoid pregnancy and childbirth, and gathered evidence much suspension from the husband. The incidence of impotence in the male could not be ascertained. "a man is ashamed to tell that."

One man dealed with exchange but omitted the persons to the Dobbes, among whom a woman was sometimes loaned to a brother or a friend. We are inclined to the belief our informants in view of the fact that the contemporary Dobbe are not adverse to wife exchange.[1] The same informants did admit that sometimes an old man who required a young man's endurance in burning might invite a real or classificatory brother to live with him, allowing the young man sexual access to his wife. The elderly husband, however, was generally pleased at marriage.[2] Under conditions of polygyny a husband slept with a different sexual partner about once every two nights. "The youngest wife always wants to go most and the man has to try to give her plenty." Nevertheless a polygynous husband remained careful not to neglect the older women. When levirate polygyny was practiced, the ancillary husband entered sexual access to a wife only during the absence of the first husband. A woman reported her husband's [illegible] husband's privileges to the senior husband when the latter returned.

In one reported case of homosexuality a man, disciplined in homosexual relations,

[1] Malinowski, Crime and Man in Dobe Dobe, (1926), 187-188.
[2] For additional information concerning levirate polygyny, see below, pp. 134, 135

[illegible] the capacity as a guardian and mother. With the consent of the girl secured, a key [illegible] commencement took place to the parents. Following their approval the mother visited the girl's mother and the two families arranged a feast at which they exchanged gifts[illegible] amidst much jubilee and expressions of good feeling.* The two fathers addressed each other "brothers-in-law" while the mothers said "sisters-in-law." Following the celebrations the couple will refrained from openly sleeping together for another four or five days, perhaps not at anyone.

A certain percent of marriage occurred when a young girl, who had begun to menstruate, named the boy who had "married" her. The mother then informed the parents' mother whereupon it was up to the latter to accept the girl as a daughter-in-law. Should the mothers have been a poor farmer, the girl's family might claim one of his more eligible brothers for a son-in-law. Elopements when a girl's parents rejected a suitor took place with the young couple running off, sometimes to another country. With time the parents could usually be won over, perhaps after the advent of a grandchild. Two unusual forms of marriage widely distributed in the northern Kikuyuidom were common in by exercised, namely "wrestling for wives" and childhood betrothal. The first meant when a young, unmarried man visited a camp to which he was a stranger. Visiting hands to engagement to the husband that they intends the possession of the latter's wife. A man thus approached could decline the challenge. On the other hand the gambling opposite might be accepted. If declined he won his wife go with the opponent. Sometimes the angry men fiercest scrimp against the successful challenger, aiming to destroy the latter's burning power. Consecutive bodies up a wrestling match that showed signs of developing into "bad results" the master. Occasionally parents contracted engagements between children, exchanging girls of children's clothing. A girl still in infancy might be betrothed to a boy two or three years old. If both children survived but lived developed a distaste for each other, their fathers might grow hate to inquiry. In cases of extreme unwillingness a wives or brother has volunteered for one of the partners.

Wardless relations followed marriage. When two or more children had been born a husband usually asked his father-in-law for permission to camp by himself. A "good" father-in-law agreed, adding some such advice as, "Be careful, don't go up to the mountains to cultivate." Denizens of the many slippery and dangerous places where a beginner could seek injury). Misunderstandings between were more common. The man could afford to support so many as two wives and the children they produced.* Polygamy

* Among the Kikuyu and Kamba tribesmen, the women are free to [illegible] a wife to work for a present of some kind. If the man [illegible] as a son-in-law to the girl's parents, he presents one bullock. If not, it was necessary for the parents one bullock to start a home or giving goats and sheep to the girl and her parents. (Kyle, Unpublished manuscript (1944), 11). Among the Thagiri, when an engagement to marry a boy and girl had been concluded, the boy's mother gave gifts to the girl's family which were distributed by the husband among the daughter's people." [illegible] (Routledge, Kenia Mountain, Kikuyu and Masailand, Methuen[illegible] p. 91 (Thagiri tribes, 1910), 49)

† Witnesses against this [illegible] were often had that a man [illegible] to his wife three days "about to go hunt a the mother of whom a boy is you not appear there, but of her own. . . . [illegible] the wife were then one wife." (Kyle, Unpublished manuscript (1944), 11 among the Thagiri polygamy was [illegible] (Kyle, Study of the Thagiri p. [illegible] (1944), 49)

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6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River
Tsaltona
Upper Liard

to a proposed match. Where such permission was withheld, elopement might follow. The eloping couple then lived alone or, more often, joined another camp. Sometimes angry parents pursued the young people and beat the youth if they caught him. In the normal course of events a young man undertook bride service for a year in the home of his father-in-law. During this period he contrived to have secret sexual relations with his intended spouse. A wealthy father-in-law terminated bride service with a feast, after which the couple were regarded as man and wife. Occasionally fathers arranged engagements between children. Contracted without gift exchange, these agreements were not absolutely binding on the young people and could be abrogated for sufficient cause. Only single men utilized the war party to secure a wife. Residence after marriage was matrilocal.

Formal polygyny remained limited to wealthy men. Never did a man live with more than two women, plural wives "always got along with each other." The idea of an unrelated woman as co-wife was strongly resisted and the presence of such a woman in camp would provoke endless quarreling.* Fraternal polyandry existed and is illustrated in a tale reported by Teit, titled "The Deceitful Wife."** A woman, married to two brothers, happened to be raped by a war party that prepared to attack her people. The ordeal weakened the woman but the enemy allowed her passage. In return she promised to conceal what had happened. The mother-in-law, however, became suspicious and spoke to her son. As a result the two husbands sensed danger and prepared to tie the wife that they all three enjoy a last good meal together. They thereupon killed the woman and fled. An upper Liard River informant reported knowledge of a Dease River Indian who had shared his wife with nine brothers. The ten men abstained in cohabiting with the woman and no trouble ever occurred between them. However, the brothers became extremely jealous when they saw a stranger talk to their wife and reported the incident to the senior husband who warned all the brothers.

Divorce sometimes followed adultery and occasionally a man quit a barren wife. Upon her husband's death a widow became the responsibility of her brother-in-law.

Taboos. People favored marriage between cross cousins. "So good for clans," the informants explained. The levirate and sororate both obtained.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

Upper Liard Kaska. Many Indians did not live to see old age. Others found their declining years filled with waning prestige and disinhibition. With monogamous cul-

* Allard says: "Polygamy existed among them when they were all pagans. One man would take as many wives as conditions would allow. For instance, if he were a good hunter he would take more than one wife. When I visited the Kaska for the first time in 1925, I found no polygamy among them ... they had never seen a Catholic priest in their country, but being in their native state more moral than the other races of Indians, the influence of their forefathers, the White or, not their ability to abandon polygamy." (Allard, *Notes on the Kaska and Upper Liard Indians* (1928), 21.) We feel inclined to ascribe the loss of polygamy much more to the influence of the white man who invaded the Dease River valley after 1870. (J. Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 66-67.

** Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 400-402.